

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

| | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| REPORTING OFFICE ATLANTA | OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA | DATE 6/24/68 | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 5/6/68-6/20/68 |
| TITLE OF CASE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) | | REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED] | TYPED BY jgd |
| | | CHARACTER OF CASE RACIAL MATTERS | |

REFERENCES:

Bureau airtel to Atlanta dated 5/23/68.
 Newark airtel to Director dated 6/3/68.
 Bulet to New Orleans dated 5/13/68.

- P -

R

LEADS:ATLANTA DIVISIONAt Atlanta, Ga.

Will continue to develop information indicating possible conspiracy on the part of leaders of SNCC to violate one or more of Sections 2383, 2384 and 2385, Title 18, U. S. Code.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|------|-------|---------------------|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED | | | | | | NONE | ACQUIT-TALS | CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO |
| CONVIC. | AUTO. | FUG. | FINES | SAVINGS | RECOVERIES | | | |
| APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i> | | | | | | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE | | |
| COPIES MADE: | | | | | | DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW | | |
| (10) Bureau (100-439190) (RM) 1 - OSI, District #6, Robins Air Force Base, Ga. (RM) 1 - 11th MIG, Region 5, Ft. McPherson, Ga. (RM) 3 - Atlanta (100-6488) | | | | | | 100-439190-1928 JUN 27 1968 REC-14 101 | | |
| Dissemination Record of Attached Report | | | | | | Notations | | |
| Agency | ACSA | NJC | OST | SEC. SERV. | | DEPT. J. Walter Gandy (Attn: Paul Vincent) RACIAL INT. SECT. | | |
| Request Recd. | 270:IDW | CRD | CARM | CJA (BY L.H. JASON) | | | | |
| Date Fwd. | 7/5/68 | | | | | | | |
| How Fwd. | 145 | | | | | | | |
| by | P7B/jk/- | 10 | | | | | | |

54 JUL 10 1968

AT 100-6488

INFORMANTS:

| <u>Source</u> | <u>Date of Activity</u> | <u>File Locations</u> |
|---------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| [REDACTED] | 3/6/68 | 100-7098-977 |
| [REDACTED] | 3/15/68 | 100-7098-1058 |
| [REDACTED] | 3/19/68 | -1057 |
| [REDACTED] | 5/7/68 | 100-6488-6816 |
| [REDACTED] | 3/22/68 | 100-7098-1057 |
| [REDACTED] | 6/20/68 | Instant report |
| [REDACTED] | 4/19/68 | 100-7098-1138 |

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 - OSI, District #6,
Robins Air Force Base, Georgia (RM)

Copy to: 1 - 111th MIG, Region 5,
Ft. McPherson, Georgia (RM)

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: June 24, 1968

Office: Atlanta

Field Office File #: 100-6488

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis:

[REDACTED]

Other literature directed by SNCC urges public support of total involvement in their struggle. [REDACTED]

- P -

DETAILS:

[REDACTED]

advised that on February 21, 1968, after H. RAP BROWN was arrested on a charge of assaulting a federal officer. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

AT 100-6488

By letter dated March 6, 1968, [REDACTED] furnished the following "news letters" received by him March 5, 1968 in a letter postmarked at Atlanta, Georgia, March 4, 1968, bearing return address "Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 360 Nelson Street, Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia, 30313."

These "press releases" are as follows:

1. Hold massive rallies, demonstrations, marches, picket in support of Rap Brown in as many cities, towns, areas, as possible. Contact all groups and individuals involved in the Black Liberation Struggle and ask them to help in this massive effort.
2. At rallies etc., enumerate charges against Rap and read letter from prison which Rap has sent to his brothers and sisters.
3. Engage in any acts of civil disobedience which you consider appropriate, acts that will completely tie up the enemy's system--by any means necessary!
4. Send telegrams in support of H. Rap Brown, demanding his release to U.S. Atty. General Ramsay Clarke, Washington, D.C.
Send telegrams protesting the Orangeburg Massacre and demanding that the murderers be punished to Gov. McNair in Columbia, South Carolina.
Please send copies of telegrams to: SHCC
360 Nelson St. S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30313
5. Above all, let's take care of business the same way that the man takes care of business with us---in the only language he will ever understand. Our time is running out fast. We must learn a good lesson from our Vietnamese brothers who are defeating America--the so-called "most powerful country in the world." SELF DEFENSE and RETALIATION---with GUNS and STRATEGY---is the only answer! For Orangeburg, for Rap Brown, for Huey Newton, for Max Stanford, for LeRoi Jones, for Cleveland Sellers, for all of us, the word is MAXIMUM RETALIATION TO THEM with MINIMUM LOSSES TO US!!!

A LETTER FROM PRISONTO MY

BLACK BROTHERS AND SISTERS

February 22, 1968

Being a man is the continuing battle of one's life, one loses a bit of manhood with every stale compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe. No slave should die a natural death. There is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins. Every day I am in prison I will refuse both food and water.

My hunger is for the liberation of my people; my thirst is for the ending of oppression. I am a political prisoner, jailed for my beliefs that black people must be free. The government has taken a position true to its fascist nature. Those who they cannot convert, they must silence. This government has become the enemy of mankind.

Death can no longer alter our path to freedom. For our people, death has been the only known exit from slavery and oppression. We must open others. Our will to live must no longer supersede our will to fight, for our fighting will determine if our race shall live.

To desire freedom is not enough. We must move from resistance to aggression, from revolt to revolution. For every black death, there must be ten dead racist cops. For every Max Stanford and Huey Newton, there must be ten Detroits. And for every Orangeburg, there must be a Bien Bien Phu.

Brothers and Sisters, and all oppressed people, we must prepare ourselves both mentally and physically, for the major confrontation is yet to come. We must fight. It is the people who in the final analysis make and determine history, not leaders or systems. The laws to govern us must be made by us.

May the deaths of 68 signal the beginning of the end of this country. I do what I must out of the love for my people. My will is to fight; resistance is not

NOTE TO AMERICA!

1962

AMERICA: If it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you
and to organize your jails to revolt against you, and to organize your troops
to revolt against you, and to organize your children, your god, your poor,
your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin,
then here is my life.

BUT MY SOUL BELONGS TO MY PEOPLE!

WE SHALL CONQUER WITHOUT A DOUBT!

AT 100-6488

On March 15, 1968, [REDACTED] furnished a copy of "A Letter From Prison From H. RAP BROWN," dated February 21, 1968, at New Orleans, Louisiana.

This letter is set forth as follows:

A LETTER FROM PRISON FROM H. RAP BROWN

Parish Prison
New Orleans, La.
2/21/68

Being a man is the continuing battle of one's life and one loses a bit of manhood with every stale compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe.

No slave should die a natural death. There is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins.

For everyday I am imprisoned I will refuse both food and water. My hunger is for the liberation of my people. My thirst is for the ending of oppression.

I am a political prisoner, jailed for my beliefs -- that Black People must be free. The Government has taken a position true to its fascist nature: Those who we cannot convert, we must silence. This government has become the enemy of Mankind.

Death can no longer alter our path to Freedom. For our people, Death has been the only known exit from slavery and oppression. We must open others.

Our will to live must no longer supersede our will to fight, for our fighting will determine if our race shall live. To desire Freedom is not enough.

We must move from resistance to aggression, from revolt to revolution.

For every Orangeburg there must be 10 Detroit's. For every Max Stanford and Huey Newton, there must be 10 dead racist cops. And for every Black Death there must be a Dien Bien Phu.

Brothers and Sisters, and all oppressed people, you must prepare yourself both mentally and physically, for the major confrontation is yet to come. You must fight. It is the people who in the final analysis make and determine history, not leaders or systems. The laws to govern you must be made by you.

May the deaths of '68 signal the beginning of the end of this country. I do what I must out of the love for my people. My will is to fight; resistance is not enough. Aggression is the order of the day.

NOTE TO AMERICA

America, if it takes my Death to organize my people to revolt against you, and to organize your jails to revolt against you, and to organize your troops to revolt against you, and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize Mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here is my life! But my soul belongs to MY PEOPLE.

Lasine Tushinde Mbilashaka. (We shall conquer without a doubt.)

H. RAP BROWN

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On March 22, 1968, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] advised that the texture of the paper and the general makeup of the leaflet is of higher quality than local printing facilities of SNCC are capable of producing. These sources advised that the letter was obviously prepared by someone with a working knowledge of SNCC and its policies, but they seriously doubted it was authored by H. RAP BROWN as it contains language and organization beyond BROWN's capabilities. These sources were unable to furnish any information indicating the possible identity of the individual preparing this leaflet.

On April 19, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that on February 29, 1968, he had obtained the same leaflet from a table filled with copies at SNCC Headquarters, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

As of March 23, 1968, [REDACTED] advised he had been unable to obtain information which would establish SNCC's and/or BROWN's authorship of the leaflet.

On May 7, 1968, [REDACTED] furnished a copy of a letter dated March 4, 1968, issued by the SNCC office at Atlanta, Georgia. This letter is set forth as follows:

Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

200 Bolton Street, S.W.

Atlanta, Georgia 30313

698-0331

March 4, 1968

MARCH 20-----DAY OF SUPPORT FOR SNCC CHAIRMAN, H. RAP BROWN and
THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN THE UNITED STATES!!!

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

White America has made it's decision public as to how she intends to deal with us Blacks. Every police force in the country is stocking up with gases, tanks, specially armed helicopters, shot guns, carbines, Stoner Rifles (rifles that put a 4 inch hole through ten men, ten inches of steel and make powder out of brick walls) and lord knows what else, in order to treat us the way white America always treats her enemies-----
SHE MURDERS THEM!!

The most recent example of white America's plan for Black People is seen in the Orangeburg Massacre and the jailing of Rap Brown. The bloody murders in Orangeburg, South Carolina and the jailing of Rap show clearly that this country has adopted a declaration of war against the Black Community. We in turn are asking that you demonstrate support for Rap and the Black struggle on MARCH 20 by engaging in action that will best show your support.

For some, this will mean sending telegrams to the U.S. Attorney General, Ramsey Clarke, Washington, D.C., demanding Rap's release; or sending telegrams to Governor McNair in Columbia, South Carolina demanding that the murderers of our brothers be punished. For some, it may mean picketing a federal installation and sending money to SNCC to carry on the Revolution. For others, it may mean taking care of the murderers ourselves or taking care of a police station, or destroying what is most dear to white America: it's material possessions.

So---take your pick. The first suggestions for action may be relevant to you and help you further along towards total involvement in our struggle---but you must understand that the last group of suggestions for action is where we must go!

WE MUST FIGHT!

WE SHALL CONQUER WITHOUT A DOUBT!!

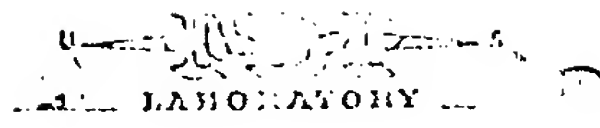
Stanley Wise
Stanley Wise
Executive Secretary

Ralph Featherstone
Ralph Featherstone
Program Secretary

AT 100-6488

In connection with the aforementioned letter, handwriting specimens of STANLEY WISE and RALPH FEATHERSTONE were secured and forwarded to the FBI Laboratory for comparison with the handwritten names of these individuals appearing on the letter of March 4, 1968.

The results of this examination were as follows:



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: FBI, Atlanta (100-6488)

Date: April 9, 1968
FBI File No. 100-439190
Lab. No. D-559234 IK

Re: SNCC
IS - SNCC

Specimens received 3/26/68

Q1 One-page typewritten letter dated 3/4/68, signed
"Ralph Featherstone"

Kel Photocopy of Georgia Operator's License #047406 bearing
known signature STANLEY LE ROY WISE

Result of examination:

It was determined that the Wise signature on specimen Q1 was not prepared by STANLEY LE ROY WISE, FBI#120891F, whose known writings consist of specimen Kel and signatures on fingerprint cards in his identification record.

It was determined that the Featherstone signature on specimen Q1 was not prepared by RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE, FBI#629923G, whose known writing consists of a signature on a fingerprint card in his identification record.

Specimens Q1 and Kel are returned herewith. Photographs have been retained.

AT 100-6488

On March 12, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that he had heard the matter mentioned in the March 4, 1968 letter discussed in Atlanta. The source said that the plans set forth were not directives of the National Headquarters of SNCC, but were ideas that have been distributed to affiliated offices throughout the country. The source added that any demonstrations were to be peaceful in character as SNCC believes that to provoke agitation would further adversely affect their financial condition.

[REDACTED]

APPENDIX1PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1966, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1966, at New York City, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP would have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

"The New York Times," City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1966, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary Socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1966, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as Milton Rosen, New York, President, and William Lpton of New York and Mort Scher of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the Party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1963 by Mr. Rosen and Mr. Scher after they were expelled from the Communist Party, U.S.A., for allegedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magazine; "Challenge," a monthly New York City newspaper; and "Spark," a west coast newspaper.

The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge," page 14, states that "this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government of every level."

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 883, Brooklyn, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

1REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled, "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto," the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS then residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism; that is, one involving the struggles of the nonwhite races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding WILLIAMS, it should be noted that on August 23, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Voluntary Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled the United States to Cuba, where he published a monthly newsletter entitled, "The Crusader," from Havana. As of December, 1966, WILLIAMS was residing in Peking, China.

This source, in September, 1964, advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States by violence, if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely nonwhite in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Banting World"; that is, the nonwhite races of the world rather than to any national entity, as such.

On November 16, 1964, a recent source advised he had recently seen a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of ROY BROWN, described as the "father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin." BROWN served as RAM Chairman, with LAMARL STANFORD (now of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,) serving as RAM Field Chairman.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

On May 12, 1967, a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM. The source advised that MAXWELL STANFORD of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is considered the leader of RAM and if an RAM headquarters ever existed, it would most likely be where STANFORD resides.

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of the organization, as set forth in the preamble to its constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anticommunism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC have varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois..

CONFIDENTIAL

1
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

27

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| PORTING OFFICE ATLANTA | OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA | DATE 11/26/68 | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 6/25/68 - 11/15/68 |
| TITLE OF CASE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) | | REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED] | TYPED BY MCC |
| | | CHARACTER OF CASE RACIAL MATTERS | |

REFERENCE: Atlanta report of SA [REDACTED] 6/24/68

LEADS:

ATLANTA

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Continue to follow activities of organization and submit 90 day report.

(COVER PAGE)

| ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED | | | | | None | ACQUIT- TALS | CASE HAS BEEN: |
|-------------------------|------|-----|-------|---------|------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| WIC | AUTO | FUG | FINES | SAVINGS | RECOVERIES | | |
| | | | | | | | PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO |

APPROVED: *[Signature]* SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

10-Bureau (100-439190) (RM) **REC-55**

1-C, OSI, District Six

Atlanta AFB GA, 31093 (RM)

1111th AFB, Region V, Fort

Belvoir, TX 76104 (RM)

3-Atlanta (100-6188)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| <p style="font-size: 2em;">100-439190-1993</p> | <p style="font-size: 1.5em;">REC 55</p> |
|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

| | |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| Copy | AGENCY: ACSI, WFO, OSI, SEC. SERV., |
| First Recd. | FROM: OSI, CTO, RAO, WFO, CTO |
| cc Fwd. | HOW: [REDACTED] |
| cc Fwd. | DATE FWD: [REDACTED] |
| cc Fwd. | BY: [REDACTED] |

61 DEC 31 1968

Notations

AT 100-6488

INFORMANTS

| <u>Informant</u> | <u>Date of Activity</u> | <u>File Location</u> |
|------------------|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| [REDACTED] | 5/17/68 6/11/68 | 100-6488-6859 7046 |
| [REDACTED] | 6/11-13/68 7/9/68 9/1/68 9/30/68 | 100-6488-7031 7212 7510 7607 |
| [REDACTED] | 6/11-13/68 | 100-6488-7175 |
| [REDACTED] | August, 1968 6/25/68 6/25/68 7/24/68 | 100-6488-7362 7364 7370 7481 |
| [REDACTED] | 8/22/68 | 100-6488-7399 |
| [REDACTED] | 7/24/68 9/30/68 8/26/68 | 100-6488-7472 7592 7594 |
| [REDACTED] | 9/9/68 | 100-6488-7514 |
| [REDACTED] | 9/3/68 | 100-6488-7554 |
| [REDACTED] | 9/16/68 | 157-3518-1 |

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified "confidential" as information contained herein attributed to [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were secured from sources active in and closely associated with the Civil Rights movement. Should the identities of these sources become known to individuals outside the Bureau, it could seriously effect

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(COVER PAGE)

AT 100-6488

their continued usefulness in furnishing intelligence information regarding this movement.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

* 1st of 1st
* 2nd of 1st

C*
(COVER PAGE)

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1-CC, OSI, OSI District Six, Robins AFB, Ga. 31093 (RM)
1-111th MIG, Region V, Fort McPherson, Ga. 30330 (RM)

Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED] Office: Atlanta, Georgia
Date: November 26, 1968

Field Office File #: 100-6488 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: National Headquarters located 360-362 Nelson Street, SW, Atlanta. Voluntary contributions dropped sharply. Appeal made in September, 1968, of \$10,000 for taxes, office supplies, postage, phone charges for staff and program expenses. In September, 1968, appeal made to National Episcopal Church, New York City, in name of Afro-American Society of Greater Atlanta for \$20,000 to better race relations in Atlanta. [REDACTED] reports National Episcopal Church will furnish \$34,000 soon after the start of 1969. Reasons for expulsion of STOKELY CARMICHAEL from organization set forth. Objectives adopted at annual conference in June, 1968, set forth. Alliance with National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union, Black Liberators, Black Student Alliance, Black Panther Party, and Students for a Democratic Society set forth.

-P-

DETAILS:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

I. ADDRESS

A. National Headquarters

Information received from [REDACTED] reflects that the National Headquarters of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) are located at 360-362 Nelson Street, SW, Atlanta, Georgia.

II. FINANCES

A. Source of Funds

In August, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that financial assistance has been rendered SNCC through the circularization of fund raising type letters under the signature of such prominent Negroes as HARRY BELAFONTE, the actor, and JAMES BEBBIN, the author, and through voluntary contributors from "liberal" both Negro and white. The source added, however, that during the year, 1968, efforts to circulate such fund raising correspondence has not been undertaken and voluntary contributions have dropped sharply. The source attributed this to the fact that all "liberal money" is currently being devoted to the "MC CARTHY For President" Campaign. The source was of the opinion that after the Democratic Convention, donations would increase should Senator MC CARTHY fail to secure the presidential nomination.

On September 16, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that under date of September 1, 1968, SNCC had circulated the following appeal for funds:

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

860 Edison Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30310
693-0881

September 1, 1968

DEAR FRIENDS:

In our unrelenting struggle for the liberation of oppressed people, both in America and abroad, we have met with many obstacles and varying forms of repression. New ways to quell our thrust are being invented daily.

The record shows that SNCC has been the vanguard group in the struggle to build economic and political power for the oppressed. Yet, the mass media and national leaders portray us as a band of unthinking and irresponsible individuals. Those who seek to maintain the system may be fooled; the oppressed are not.

During our annual spring meeting, the SNCC staff underwent a major reorganization. We evaluated and expanded our program to build a Black political party. We developed programs to increase Black economic strength and to establish liberation schools across the nation. These actions were part of our continual effort to serve Black people more effectively.

YOU CAN HELP SNCC to implement its objectives by spreading the principles of liberation throughout your communities. Literature is available from any SNCC office.

YOU CAN HELP SNCC to keep its national office open for services to Black people through your financial contributions. Ten thousand dollars is needed for taxes, office supplies, subsistence wages for our staff, and for program expenses.

SNCC is pledged to continue its resistance until all oppressed people are liberated. Our stand is firm; our commitment is great. With your help in the words of Ray Brown, "We will conquer without a doubt."

Yours for liberation

Phil Hutchings
Phil Hutchings, Program Secretary

[REDACTED]

6/21/68 - SNCC of SCLC & SNCC

[REDACTED]

N.Y.

[REDACTED]

III. NATIONAL OFFICERS

A. Election Held in Atlanta, June, 1968

On June 17, 1968, the New York Office of SNCC, located at Room 803, 105th Avenue, issued the following release:

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
100 Fifth Ave
Room 803
N.Y., N.Y. 10011

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

June 17, 1968

SNCC REORGANIZES

Within the past two years repression against the Black community has increased to the point where we are now faced with the question of whether or not we survive as a race of people. Along with this repression, we have witnessed the intense persecution of militant Black leaders such as Max Stanford, Huey Newton, Stokely Carmichael, Cleve Sellers, Herman Ferguson, and E. Ray Brown who served as Chairman of SNCC from May, 1967 until June, 1968.

In order to better deal with this repression and persecution and to better continue our struggle against racism, capitalism and imperialism, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, at our annual staff meeting held in Atlanta, June 11-15, decided to restructure the organization.

The following people were elected Deputy Chairmen of SNCC:

George Ware of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
Johnny Wilson of New York City
Donald Stone of Atlanta
James Forman of New York City
Bob Smith of Atlanta
Brother Crook of Los Angeles
Former Executive Secretary, Stanley Wise of N.C. and Louisiana

Other Deputy Chairmen will be elected later. Phil Hutchings of Newark was elected Program Secretary.

Ray Brown continues to be active in the organization.

Some of the crucial issues discussed at the staff meeting included: (1) creation of a national mass political party, (2) anti-war, anti-draft activity, (3) formation of liberation schools, and (4) southern student unions. Knowing that police repression will be increased and intensified this summer in the Black community, SNCC also discussed survival refugee stations throughout its projects and defense units.

On June 16, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that a National Chairman for SNCC was not elected at the annual meeting of the central committee but that instead PHILLIP HUTCHINGS was elected vice chairman in charge of the program department. Source added that the positions of vice chairman or deputy chairman were being created and that in addition to HUTCHINGS, mentioned above, JOHN C. WILSON had been designated a deputy chairman for New York City, DONALD P. STONE would be a deputy chairman for Atlanta, Georgia, and ROBERT SMITH would be a deputy chairman for the Atlanta, Georgia area. JAMES FORMAN would be deputy chairman in New York City, as well as being in charge of the international division of SNCC. STANLEY LEROY WISE had been designated deputy chairman in charge of North Carolina and Louisiana, and BROOKER CROOK would be designated a vice chairman in charge of Los Angeles. BROOKER CROOK is identified as RONALD LEROY WILKINS, a resident of Los Angeles, California. He was born August 12, 1946, in San Francisco, California.

Information received from [REDACTED] reflected that GEORGE WASHINGTON WARE had been designated a deputy chairman in charge of college campuses through the United States and the states of North Carolina and South Carolina.

F. Central Committee of SNCC

On June 25, 1968, [REDACTED] identified the following individuals as being members of the Central Committee of SNCC:

JOHN PATTERSON, Charleston, South Carolina
 ROBERT SMITH, Atlanta, Georgia
 BOB MOORE, Baltimore, Maryland
 LESTER MC KINNEY, Washington, D. C.
 JAMES LITTLE, New York City, New York
 KENNETH MINOR, Atlanta, Georgia
 FREDERICK GREEN, Atlanta, Georgia
 FRED WELLS, New York City, New York
 WILLIE RICKS, Atlanta, Georgia

⁵¹
JAMES FORMAN, New York City, New York

⁵¹
GEORGE WASHINGTON WARE, Tuskegee Institute

⁵¹
DONALD P. STONE, Atlanta, Georgia

PHIL HUTCHINGS, Newark, New Jersey

C. Expulsion of STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On August 22, 1968, an article appeared in the Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Georgia, reflecting that SNCC had disowned STOKELY CARMICHAEL, according to PHIL HUTCHINGS, the National Program Secretary. The announcement reflected that "it is with regret and no pleasure that SNCC announces it has terminated STOKELY CARMICHAEL's relationship to the organization". The article continued "Brother CARMICHAEL, both as a member and as chairman of SNCC made tremendous strides in the fight for black liberation over the past 8 years. It is our hope that the black people of America, and throughout the world will judge this decision based both upon the present and future activities of SNCC, and STOKELY CARMICHAEL. We are sorry it had to come to this".

On August 22, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that CARMICHAEL had been officially "fired" by SNCC for the following reasons:

1. Failed to report to SNCC on his personal matter
2. Failed to report on his daily activities as related to SNCC
3. Has been a threat to the SNCC leadership in Washington, D. C.

D. Statements of Objectives Adopted at June and July, 1968 Meetings

On July 24, 1968, [REDACTED] made available the following objectives adopted by SNCC at the annual conference held in Atlanta, Georgia, in June, 1968:

" We, the Africans who live in the United States, are the descendants of those wrenched from the shores of Africa, transplanted in an alien land, enslaved, forced to develop under political servitude the resources of the United States. We are merely one part of the dispersed African population that the White Western slavers have scattered throughout the world. During our forced exile away from the continent of Africa, every attempt has been made to rupture our ancestral ties with Africa and to so brainwash us as to make us feel we have no relationship with the continent of Africa.

We assert today that we are part of the African continent.

We are Overseas Africans living in the United States.

We are committed to the liberation of the African continent.

We are committed to the liberation of African people wherever they exist and are the victims of racism, exploitation and oppression.

We make these assertions in the spirit of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism. The concept of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism makes it imperative that all Africans unite and wage a fight against racism, capitalism, and imperialism--those intertwined triple hyenas that have dispersed our people throughout the world, that keep us in bondage and that oppress mankind.

We the people of African descent living in the United States must be extremely conscious of our need to cooperate especially in the liberation of Southern Africa where the white western powers have decided to maintain colonialism in its most brutal and savage forms. At the same time we must redouble our efforts to unite all oppressed people suffering from imperialist domination led by the United States. Concerning our internal situation in the United States, we form a colony within the United States. We are a colonized people. We suffer from racism, political domination and economic exploitation as well as cultural degradation.

The struggle of our people has been one of resistance to the colonizing process in the United States. We resisted on the high seas during our enslavement. We resisted throughout the period of our enslavement and we fought with weapons in the United States Civil War for our so-called emancipation from the status of slaves to neo-slaves.

We resist today and we shall continue to resist!

Within the brief span of the history of our own organization, we have seen efforts by the United States government and the White Power People and Press (WPPP) to further explain away the spirit of our resistance. On February 1, 1960, four students sat at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. They were engaged in a new wave of rebellious activity by black college students that has mounted and raised the consciousness of our people to new heights of resistance in the streets of Watts, Newark, Detroit and many other cities throughout the United States. The armed rebellions of black people in the so-called ghettos are just another manifestation of the resistance spirit of our people.

We are not unaware that the United States government through its vast propaganda network in Africa, Asia, and Latin America has tried to deceive our brothers overseas that the sit-ins were merely attempts to integrate into the mainstream of American life. This is a lie.

Our struggle during the early sixties was a struggle against white supremacy and its racist, exploitative manifestations in the areas of public accommodations and lack of political representation. Even as we struggled then we were committed to fundamentally changing the political and economic framework of this country in which racism and white supremacy run rampant.

We see today on many fronts efforts to explain away and to remove the fire from the concept, Black Power. There are those who would like to take the revolutionary sting away from black power and make it merely another American reform movement.

Therefore, it is necessary to state that Black Power is a revolutionary force that seeks the elimination of capitalism and the industrial-military complex which undergirds it. We call upon all our brothers and sisters to intensify the revolutionary consciousness among our people to unite in the fight against racism, capitalism and imperialism. It is through our unity and an unrelenting struggle by whatever means necessary that we will help in the liberation of oppressed people throughout the world."

On August 29, 1968, [REDACTED] furnished the breakdown of goals and objectives adopted by SNCC at a meeting of the Central Committee in New York City, July 27-29, 1968. These goals are as follows:

1. As overseas Africans, we demand the extraction of all investments of the military-industrial-banking complex from the whole of Africa. In connection with this, we seek a liberated, united independent Africa.
2. We demand the cessation of political and diplomatic intrigue into the affairs of the third world.
3. We demand a respect for the cultural integrity of non-western people and a destruction of institutional and cultural racism which is the foundation of attitudes that allow for the oppression and exploitation of non-western people.
4. We seek the end of the present capitalist, economic systems and the institution of a more humanistic system that calls for a more realistic distribution of wealth and a more collective, creative life style.
5. We seek the abolition of participation of Black men in the military machinery of this present system.
6. We seek the establishment of liberation schools for the purpose of bridging the cultural and historical gaps that separate us from our connections with the past and also for the purpose of creating a class of Black revolutionaries.
7. We seek the establishment of a National Black Revolutionary Party that will address itself to the liberation of Black people.
8. We seek the establishment of survival refugee stations.

IV. PARTICIPATION IN AND/OR SUPPORT OF OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A. National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU)

A characterization of this organization is included in the appendix of this report.

[REDACTED] advised that the National Headquarters of this organization had appointed JOHN P. TILLMAN, a known SNCC associate as the one to be in charge of the Atlanta Office of this organization. The source advised that in June, 1968, TILLMAN had attempted to organize a movement in Atlanta, and did, in fact, establish office at 8 Raymond Street, NW. The conference for the NDAWADU was held in Atlanta, and a social dance was held with the prospect of developing support for the movement in Atlanta. However, due to mismanagement on the part of TILLMAN, this movement was a complete failure in the Atlanta area, and never attained any proportion of success.

B. Harambee Sisters

[REDACTED]

Information received from this source reflects that the Harambee Sisters continued to meet each third Wednesday, and at present are hoping to sponsor a penny festival to help support SNCC and its program.

C. Black Liberator

[REDACTED]

D. Black Student Alliance

[REDACTED] has advised that although SNCC has not openly and actively supported the movement of this organization on the campus of the Atlanta University System, CLEVELAND SELLERS the former program director of SNCC, who presently resides in Atlanta, Georgia, has been active in attempting to organize this alliance on the Atlanta University Campus. The source said that the facilities of SNCC have been used in the past in preparing literature distributed by the Black Student Alliance.

E. Black Panther Party (BPP)

Characterization of this organization is included in the appendix of this report.

The following article appeared in the Atlanta, Georgia Constitution of July 23, 1968:

SNCC Allies With Black Panthers

By LESTER CARSON

NEW YORK (AP) — The Black Panther party and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee have formed a "working alliance" which the two militant groups hope will be the genesis of a black political party, it was disclosed Monday.

James Forman, former SNCC chairman, said the alliance will try to unify all black militant groups in the country against what he called the "mounting forces of repression," examples of which, he said, were the "stockpiling of arms and the arming of white citizens" and "assassinating black leaders."

The alliance was formed Feb. 19, Forman said, "the birthday of Huey P. Newton." Newton, who founded the Panthers, is being held in Oakland, Calif., on charges of killing a policeman.

SICKLY & RAP

In the alliance, SNCC leaders also hold offices in the Panthers. Forman, now SNCC chairman of international relations, is the Panthers' minister of foreign affairs.

Sickly Carmichael, director of the SNCC Washington, D.C. project, is the Panther's prime minister. H. Rap Brown, who Forman said holds no office in SNCC, is Panther minister of justice.

Carmichael, Brown and Forman are all former SNCC chairmen.

[REDACTED] advised on June 25, 1968, that during the reorganization of SNCC which took place at its annual meeting in 1968, JAMES FORMAN, who was in charge of the international division of SNCC, wanted to structure SNCC in the same pattern as the BPP and proposed a merger of the two organizations. However, according to the source, the latter motion was voted down.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

F. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

A characterization of this organization is included in the appendix of this report.

On September 23, 1968, [REDACTED] made available a statement issued by the SDS setting out its support of SNCC. This statement is as follows:

September 3, 1968
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE...

Contact: New York Region
SDS
131 Prince St., NYC
(212) 674-8310

STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR SNCC,
TEXAS SDS, AFRO-AMERICANS FOR BLACK LIBERATION
AND BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The New York office of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) announced today its intention to act in support of members of the Black Panther Party, Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Afro-Americans for Black Liberation and Texas SDS who have recently met political repression.

The decision stems from events within the past four weeks in Brooklyn and four cities in Texas.

In Brooklyn, concern centers around the arrest of members of the Black Panther Party and the harsh treatment given them by Brooklyn Criminal Court. At their arraignment, 150 helmeted policemen stood between the defendants and the judge. The accused were all given unreasonably high bail. Assistant D.A. Meglio justified this treatment by declaring, "These men are being used as tools by people intent on political movements bordering on anarchy..." Inordinately high bail was set to keep the Panthers out of circulation. It was later reduced, but not to the point where the men could afford to purchase their freedom.

In Texas many events occurred which went unreported by the press. SNCC has been gaining strength in Texas and is now doing organizing work in at least seven cities around community control issues. Organizers have been subject to constant harassment, which has now intensified.

15

Organizers in Austin, Dallas, Houston, and Killen have been jailed on various charges (some have already been sentenced), most of which arose out of demonstrations of organizing activities. In Austin, SNCC, SDS, and Afro-Americans for Black Liberation demonstrated at a gas station about a month ago. The owner, an open racist, refused to serve anyone with long hair or a beard. Larry Jackson, head of Austin SNCC, was arrested on a trumped-up assault charge. When he was arrested, the other demonstrators--about twenty of them--sat down; they were arrested under a Texas anti-labor law that prohibits the obstructing the labor of others. Larry was sentenced to two years probation and a \$500 fine. Many of the others are still in jail, unable to pay bail, awaiting trial.

In Dallas, SNCC lead demonstrations demanding black control of supermarkets in ghetto areas. A number of people were arrested; Ernest McMillan, SNCC Field Secretary, and his aide, received ten-year sentences within the past week for "destruction of private property worth over \$500 (that is dropping merchandise).

Lee Otis Johnson, head of Houston SNCC, has been harassed ever since he first came to Texas. Last week he was sentenced to 30 years on a trumped-up narcotics charge. His wife Helen is now on trial, charged with assault, and may receive a life sentence.

In Killen, near Fort Hood, the Summer of Support ran a coffee house which offered GI counseling. The Killen City Council had it closed last week as a "public nuisance." Fifteen people, including its head, Josh Stroud, were arrested. Some were SDS organizers, some were with SNCC. They are still in jail.

Thirty-five more people were jailed last Saturday, August 31

on various charges. They are being processed rapidly by Texas courts and were scheduled for trials on Monday, September 2. They are charged with crimes (such as trespass) which are misdemeanors in New York, but, in Texas, are considered felonies. All of the 35 new defendants could receive up to ten year sentences. All have had no real legal defense, being forced to use Texas public defenders, for lack of funds.

Attorney William Kuntzler of New York has agreed to act as full-time legal coordinator for the Texas cases. He will help acquire volunteer movement lawyers for the accused.

We consider these attacks on SNCC, the Panthers, Afro-Americans for Black Liberation, and SDS instances of blatant political repression. We note particularly the use of the courts (a traditionally respected American institution) as an instrument of this repression. In the Texas and Brooklyn cases, individuals have been given "criminal" treatment for what were political activities.

SDS is planning support actions. The first of these will take place, in support of the Panthers, on Wednesday, September 4, the next date the Panthers are due to make a court appearance. A picket line and rally will be held at the court, 120 Schenckhorn St., Brooklyn, at 8:30 a.m.

In support of our brothers and sisters in Texas we are mounting a campaign to raise the funds needed for bail and legal defense. Contributors should wire money to: Austin SNCC, 1211 Rosewood Ave., Austin Texas. A support rally will be held on Saturday, Sept. 7, at 12:30p.m. in Union Square, New York City.

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APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

(10/11/68)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam, and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1008 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360 - 362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus -- the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Gerold Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR ANTI-DRAFT
UNION (NBAWADU)

On February 5, 1968, a first source advised during the January 27 through 29, 1968 Student Mobilization Committee (SMC)-sponsored National Anti-War conference in Chicago, Illinois, a "black caucus" was held. JOHN WILSON of the New York Office of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) announced the Black Caucus had formed a National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU) which would closely cooperate with the SMC.

On March 22, 1968, a second source advised the national headquarters of NBAWADU is located within the New York Office of SNCC at 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City (NYC). Source further advised NBAWADU is a SNCC-dominated organization and only Negroes may become members.

A printed and published statement by NBAWADU in the form of a position paper states the basic aims and purpose of NBAWADU are to initiate and/or support anti-war and anti-draft movements and to afford draft counseling to those who wish to resist the draft.

On April 12, 1968, a third source advised NBAWADU has appointed regional leaders in major urban cities throughout the United States. Source further advised NBAWADU has held one national meeting at the Diplomat Hotel, New York City. on April 12-14, 1968.

21*

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia 30301
November 26, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT
 COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Atlanta report of SA [REDACTED]
 captioned and dated as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| REPORTING OFFICE ATLANTA | OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA | DATE 3/10/69 | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 11/18/68 - 3/6/69 |
| TITLE OF CASE SNCC | | REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED] | TYPED BY :mah |
| | | CHARACTER OF CASE RM | |

REFERENCE: Atlanta report of SA [REDACTED] 11/26/68,
Bureau airtel to Atlanta and other offices, 2/7/69,
Atlanta letter to Bureau, 2/14/69.

LEADS

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Continue to follow activities of organization
through sources and submit report 6/10/69.

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|------|-------|---------|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED None | | | | | ACQUIT- TALS | CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO |
| CONVICTION | AUTO. | FUG. | FINES | SAVINGS | | |

APPROVED: *[Signature]*
COPIES MADE: *[Signature]*
SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

- 11-Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
- 1-OSI, District 6, Robins
AFB, Ga. (RM)
- 1-111th MIG, Region V, Ft.
McPherson, Ga. (RM)
- 1-MIS, Charleston, S.C. (RM)
- 3-Atlanta (100-6488)

100-439190-2029

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

| | |
|---------------|----------------------------------|
| Agency | AGENCY: ACSI, SEC. SERV., |
| Request Recd. | REQUEST: ISD, CENTAO, INIA, C... |
| Date Fwd. | DATE FWD: 4/7/69 |
| How Fwd. | BY: [Signature] |
| By | |

Notations

56 APR 16 1969

INFORMANTS

| <u>Identity of informant</u> | <u>Date of Activity</u> | <u>Location of Information</u> |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| [REDACTED] | 12/26/68 | 100-6488-7826 |
| [REDACTED] | 12/27/68 | 100-6488-7840 |
| [REDACTED] | 12/28/68 | 100-6488-7840 |
| [REDACTED] | 12/29/68 | 100-6488-7840 |
| [REDACTED] | 2/10/69 | 100-6488-7941 |
| [REDACTED] | 3/3/69 | Instant report |
| [REDACTED] | 11/15/68 | [REDACTED] |
| [REDACTED] | 11/4/68 | 100-6488-7811 |
| [REDACTED] | 12/18/68 | 100-6488-7823 |
| [REDACTED] | 1/7/69 | 100-6488-7860 |
| [REDACTED] | 2/12/69 | Instant report |
| [REDACTED] | 12/3/68 | 100-6488-7837 |
| [REDACTED] | 12/27/68 | 100-6488-7840 |
| [REDACTED] | 12/28/68 | 100-6488-7840 |
| [REDACTED] | 12/29/68 | 100-6488-7840 |
| [REDACTED] | 12/20/68 | 100-6488-7847 |
| [REDACTED] | 3/5/69 | Instant report |
| [REDACTED] | 1/7/69 | 100-6488-7811 |
| [REDACTED] | 1/6 - 7/69 | 100-6488-7838 |
| [REDACTED] | 12/16/68 | 100-6488-7811 |

INFORMANTS cont'd.

| <u>Identity of informant</u> | <u>Date of Activity</u> | <u>Location of Information</u> |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| [REDACTED] | 1-27-69 | 157-2119 |
| [REDACTED] | 2-27-69 | Instant report |
| [REDACTED] | 3-1-69 | Instant report |
| [REDACTED] | 2-12-69 | Instant report |
| [REDACTED] | 2-18-69 | Instant report |
| [REDACTED] | 2-27-69 | Instant report |
| [REDACTED] | 2-18-69 | Instant report |
| [REDACTED] | 2-6-69 | Instant report |
| [REDACTED] | 2-11-69 | Instant report |
| [REDACTED] | 2-18-69 | Instant report |

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ **SECRET**. Information contained herein is attributed to [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] was secured from sources active and closely associated with the civil rights movement. If the identities of these sources became known to individuals outside the FBI, it could subsequently affect their ability in furnishing intelligence information regarding this matter.

(COVER PAGE)

Bureau airtel dated 2-7-68 instructed that Atlanta and other offices conduct appropriate investigation to resolve statements made by DONALD P. STONE in interview over Radio Havana concerning the existence of liberation school and the addition of the words "Black Power" in the title of the SNCC organization. Atlanta has reviewed the replies received from other offices and has included only the pertinent information received.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

1-OSI, District 6, Robins Air Force Base, Georgia (RM)
1-111th MIG, Region V, Ft. McPherson, Georgia (RM)
1-NIS, Charleston, South Carolina (RM)

Report of:

SA [REDACTED]
March 10, 1969

Office:

Atlanta, Georgia

Field Office File #: 100-6488

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title:

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character:

RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis:

National headquarters located at 360-362 Nelson St.

Atlanta. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Staff meeting held in Atlanta 12/28 - 29/68, described as "no active accomplishments and few proposals for action" suggested or approved. CLEVELAND S/SELLERS and WILLIE RICKS dismissed from SNCC because of efforts to organize the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Atlanta. DONALD E. STONE in interview over Radio Havana, Cuba, 1/16/69, advised he is Deputy Chairman of SNCC in charge of Liberation Schools and alleged that words "Black Power" have been added to the title of the organization. Investigation fails to establish wide extent of liberation schools and does not substantiate that "Black Power" has been added to title.

-P-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
Downgrading and
Declassification~~

CONFIDENTIAL

I. ADDRESS

A. National Headquarters

On March 3, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that the national headquarters of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) continued to be located at 360-362 Nelson Street S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

II. FINANCES

The image shows a document page with two large sections of text completely redacted with black bars. The first section is a large rectangular block covering the upper half of the page. The second section is a smaller rectangular block located below the first one. The redacted areas are solid black, obscuring all text and graphics within them. The background is white, and there are some faint, illegible markings visible around the edges of the redacted areas.

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[REDACTED]

In January, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that SNCC is currently in a state of internal confusion, completely lacking in financial resources to effectively function as it has in the past. Source attributed the financial difficulties to the position that SNCC took in the Fall of 1967 after it had made known its strong pro-Arab position, with respect to the Israeli-Arab War in June, 1967.


[REDACTED]

SNCC felt that their pro-Arab position would disorganize and donations would be cut off, with the advent of peace candidates seeking elective office both nationally and locally in 1968, funds were being channeled toward the campaign funds of these peace candidates and SNCC continued to be unable to meet its operating expenses in New York City and Atlanta, Georgia. The source felt that SNCC has completely lost its effectiveness and appeal to the black community throughout the country, and with the increase organizational activity of the Black Panther Party (BPP) throughout the country, there is little appeal that did exist for SNCC and lost to the BPP because of its extreme militant policies and superior financial situation. The source said that the source

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financial situation of SNCC prevailed throughout 1968 causing difficulties and dissension among and between the national leadership of SNCC. This dissension and fighting among the national officials caused many of the nationally known individuals such as RALPH FEATHERSTONE, STANLEY WISE, STOCKELY CARMICHAEL, and H. BAP BROWN to either disassociate themselves from the organization or being dismissed by SNCC. 11A

 advised on December 16, 1968, that recently JAMES FORMAN, Deputy Chairman of the International Affairs Office of SNCC had written a book entitled Sammy Younge, Jr. This book has been published by the Grove Press and is to sell for \$5.95 per copy in the hardback edition.

This book is a story of a Negro college student who was shot and killed in Alabama after he attempted to use the white restroom at a service station.

Arrangements have been made through the publisher so that the publisher will sell each book to SNCC for \$2.00 per copy and SNCC in turn hopes to handle most of the retail sales of this book, charging \$5.95 per copy.



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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~III. NATIONAL OFFICERSA. Central Committee and Staff Meetings

On January 7, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that a staff meeting of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was held at SNCC Offices, 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta, Georgia, on December 28 and 29, 1968.

According to this source, there was no active accomplishments and few proposals for action. This source advised that JAMES FORMAN, SNCC Deputy Chairman from New York, proposed a Four Year College Campus Chapter Program and that IRVING DAVIS, SNCC Deputy Chairman from New York, proposed a re-evaluation of the SNCC staff and programs in which each were involved. He also introduced a program for "Revolutionary Economics", but details were not secured by this source.

Source stated further that proposals by DAVIS and FORMAN had a demoralizing effect on the staff and a number of members left before the official ending of this meeting on December 29, 1968. A small group of college students affiliated with SNCC in Texas, attending this meeting, stated that SNCC does not know where the people are any more, and that the organization had no worthwhile working programs.

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A characterization of the "Black Panther Party" appears in the appendix section of this report.

~~_____~~ SELLERS was dismissed from the SNCC staff as was WILLIE RICKS for the same reason.

Source also advised that GEORGE WARE, SNCC Campus Coordinator, was also dismissed at this meeting and was replaced by an SNCC staff member from New Orleans, Louisiana, known only as "SCROOGE". This source added that WARE was dismissed because of his travels, particularly his current trip to Biafra, Africa. Source believed WARE left London, England for Biafra prior to Christmas Day, 1968 for an indefinite period, but had no additional data in this regard.

~~_____~~ advised approximately 30 individuals were present at this staff meeting and the majority of the time set aside for this meeting was devoted to arguments relative to the dismissal from SNCC of CLEVELAND SELLERS and WILLIE RICKS for their efforts to organize a "Black Panther Party" Chapter in Atlanta, Georgia, and the dismissal of GEORGE WARE, an SNCC official from Tuskegee, Alabama, for his failure to maintain contact with other SNCC officials.

The source stated the meeting was officiated over by PHIL HUTCHINGS, SNCC Program Director, and during the course of this three day meeting strong "Anti-JAMES FORMAN" feelings were exhibited by the majority of the national leadership and particularly by IRVING DAVIS, SNCC International Affairs Director from New York City.

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[REDACTED]

According to this source, considerable discussion was entered into regarding the formation of a "Political Party" in the South initially, and eventually moving organizational efforts to the northern urban areas; however, no concrete plan was put forth. The purpose of forming such a political party being to overshadow the "Black Panther Party's" (BPP) influence.

[REDACTED] advised that IRVING DAVIS, who holds the position of Deputy Chairman of SNCC for the East Coast and is also associated with the International Affairs Office of SNCC in New York City, reported that he had recently returned from a three month trip visiting SNCC Chapters in Paris, France, Denmark and Sweden. He also had spent more than a month visiting Cuba. DAVIS indicated that he did not want to relate the details of his trip to Cuba at this open session for security reasons as there were many new people in attendance.

DAVIS did state that the Paris, France chapter of SNCC is in a fairly stable condition, especially since the riots in France in the Spring of 1968. DAVIS stated that this chapter and its members had supported these riots against the French Government and as a result had

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been able to gain local support from the population. DAVIS stated that the Paris Chapter is in need of people from the United States to come to Paris to assist in the operations of this chapter. DAVIS said he found that black people in Paris are in as bad shape in regard to jobs, housing, education and so forth, as black people in the United States. DAVIS indicated that the Paris Chapter has 120 members and is in need of money. The main problem relating to money is that this chapter has to deal with the white population in order to obtain funds.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

During the staff meetings it was decided that the term "fund raising" would be changed to "revolutionary economics". IRVING DAVIS commented that the following plans are being considered by SNCC to raise funds:

1. SNCC would contact people and ask them to put money in trust funds and bonds in the name of SNCC so that SNCC could borrow money against these bonds and trust funds.

2. SNCC will also contact people and attempt to get these people to purchase shares of bank stock in the name of SNCC so that SNCC could borrow money against these stocks.

3. DAVIS said that SNCC has purchased a one-third interest in a printing business, not further identified, in Brooklyn, New York, which business is considered to be a good money making operation. This printing business handles all types of printing work and SNCC will make contact with all types of businesses in an attempt to interest them in doing business with this printing company.

4. SNCC will reactivate the Afro-American News Service which SNCC had formerly operated. This news service would contain news of interest to black people and would be sold to Negro orientated newspapers and radio stations.

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5. SNCC will really push the sale of the book entitled Sammy Younger, Jr. by JAMES FORMAN. Black colleges will be contacted in an attempt to make mandatory reading among all students and attempts will be made to get these colleges to place this book in the library and college book stores.

It was decided that alliances, which SNCC had formed with such alleged para-military groups as the Oakland Direct Action Committee (ODAC) and the Black Liberators of St. Louis, Missouri, would not be made public and that all SNCC members should receive military training in line with a proposal made at the Central Committee meeting of SNCC held at Baltimore, Maryland in October, 1968. This military training would be clandestine in nature and within the next four to six months a training session would be held at some location to be identified in the future where representatives of SNCC and alliance groups would be present. This training session would be conducted by MICHAEL RESHARD of ODAC and CHARLES KOEN of the Black Liberators, who also is Deputy Chairman for SNCC in the Mid-West. Instructions would be given in the use and handling of weapons and explosives.

It was decided that each SNCC chapter should form a para-military group which would operate underground with membership on a select basis and that continued attempts should be made to form alliances with other para-military type black organizations.

SNCC should also encourage the establishment of gun clubs for black people who for one reason or another do not want to be associated with any black organization.

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On December 26, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that a staff meeting of SNCC would be held on Saturday and Sunday, December 28-29, 1968 in Atlanta and the subject to be discussed at this meeting was "Where To From Here?"

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] advised that a series of staff meetings of captioned committee was held at the national headquarters of SNCC, 360 Nelson Street S.W., Atlanta, on the following dates:

December 27, 1968 (Friday), 7 P.M. to 4:15 AM,
December 28 (chaired by PHIL HUTCHINGS)

December 28, 1968 (Saturday), 1 P.M. to 1 A.M.,
December 29 (chaired by ROBERT SMITH)

December 29, 1968 (Sunday), 2 P.M. to 1:30 A.M.,
December 30 (chaired by DANIEL W. ALDRIDGE, JR.)

These sources advised that the decision was reached that the present system of having deputy chairmen operate the organization is proving effective and no current plans are being considered to revert to the old system of having a national chairman, and other elected officials, as such.

During the entire period of the conferences, [REDACTED] advised that no mention was made or proposed by the organization to stockpile firearms and ammunition.

Approximately 53 people, representing Dallas, Texas, New York, California, and Ohio, attended the meetings. Those known to the sources as being present are identified as follows:

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JAMES FORMAN from New York
JOHN PEARL TILLMAN from New York and Atlanta
GWEN PATTON from New York
SHOCKLY last name unknown from New York
JAMES last name unknown from New York
PHIL HUTCHINGS from Newark, New Jersey
CHARLES KOEN, Prime Minister of Black Liberators,
St. Louis, Missouri
YUSEF SHABAZZ, member of Black Liberators,
St. Louis, Missouri
SCROOG last name unknown from Louisiana
DANIEL W. AIDRIDGE, Jr., [REDACTED]
Detroit, Michigan, [REDACTED]
DOROTHY DEWBERRY, Detroit, Michigan
SANDRA SELLERS from Tuskegee, Alabama
ERNEST STEPHENS from Tuskegee, Alabama
COURTLAND COX from Washington, D.C.
CHARLES COBB from Washington, D.C.
CRIFF last name unknown from California
ERNEST McHILLAN from Dallas, Texas
WILLIAM COLEMAN from Atlanta, Georgia
CAROLYN COLEMAN from Atlanta, Georgia, wife of
WILLIAM COLEMAN
STANLEY LEROY WISE, former Executive Secretary of
SCLC, Atlanta, Georgia
LEAH JOHNSON WISE, wife of STANLEY WISE, Atlanta,
Georgia, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
WILLIE FLOYD RICKS from Atlanta, Georgia
CLEVELAND LOUIS SELLERS from Atlanta, Georgia
BOB SMITH from Atlanta, Georgia
CHARLES JENKINS from Atlanta, Georgia
FLORA STONE from Atlanta, Georgia

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HOWARD SPENCER from Mississippi, a member of the Central Committee of SNCC and believed to be connected with Jackson State College, Jackson, Mississippi

H. RAP BROWN. BROWN appeared at about 12 midnight December 29, 1968. He indicated he had been to Alabama to attend the funeral of a friend and made no statement relative to SNCC policy and said that he would be leaving Atlanta on December 30, 1968, to return to New York City.

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] advised JAMES FORMAN, who appeared to be the overall director of the meeting, spoke about expelling WILLIE FLOYD RICKS and CLEVELAND LOUIS SELLERS, Jr., from SNCC as he could not understand how they could have become interested in the Black Panther movement as that organization had openly attacked the SNCC organization in New York City. CLEVELAND SELLERS said that he had joined the Black Panther movement because that organization was in a position to pay him whereas SNCC was not. He pleaded for reinstatement in the SNCC organization after it had been voted by those in attendance to expel him along with WILLIE FLOYD RICKS. WILLIE RICKS appeared at the session held on Saturday and also pleaded for reinstatement in the organization. It was decided that any such reinstatement of RICKS and SELLERS would have to be the decision of the Central Committee and a vote on reinstating them was postponed until the February 1, 1969 meeting to be held in Atlanta.

PHIL HUTCHINGS, the present Program Deputy Chairman, gave a brief report on the Detroit organization and said that it is headed by DANIEL W. ALDERMAN, Jr., who is on the staff at Wayne State University.

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GRIPPS from California gave a brief report and stated that the relation between SNCC and the Black Panther Party in California is not very good at this time.

With regards to definite accomplishments of the meetings, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] advised that no agenda was prepared to be followed and individuals in attendance merely gave "off the cuff reports" and much arguing transpired relative to local petty problems involving personalities in the various locations.

It was decided, however, that an attempt would be made in the local chapters to maintain a Child Day Care Nursery which would be a form of community service sponsored by SNCC in an effort to improve their image around the country.

Another project to be undertaken is to look into the possibilities of SNCC establishing their own bonding facility to be utilized by persons active in the civil rights movement in the event they are arrested.

HOWARD SPENCER from Mississippi said that he had been notified by mail that he had been elected a member of the Central Committee. He said that he had been attempting to establish an SNCC program at Jackson State University but has not been too successful in this regard.

DONALD STONE, identified as being in charge of the Liberation School, was further identified as having traveled to Cuba within the past few days. After his tour of Cuba he expects to go to North Vietnam and will be out of the United States for approximately six weeks. It was said that the international office of SNCC, run by IRVING DAVIS in New York, had arranged STONE's trip to Cuba.

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B. Availability of Personnel For Speaking Engagements

On February 10, 1969, [REDACTED] furnished a copy of a letter which had been prepared by BOB SMITH, National Deputy Chairman, SNCC, which reads as follows:

"S.G.A. President"
"Knoxville College"
"Knoxville 21, Tennessee"

"Dear President:"

"SNCC has been sending speakers to communities and college campuses to push its ideology and program each year since its inception. This year will be no different.

"Rap Brown, past chairman of SNCC, Jim Forman, International Affairs Director, Cleveland Sellers, Draft Coordinator, Phil Hutchings, Program Secretary, Willie Ricks, Deputy Chairman at Large, Donald Stone, Deputy Chairman of Freedom Schools, and Bob Smith, National Deputy Chairman, all of SNCC, are available to accept speaking engagements and lectures in communities and college campuses.

"Issues on which they will expound are, "The Draft and War and How It Relates to Afro-Americans," and "Afro-Americans from a State of Restfulness and unawareness, to a State of Unrest and Awareness." They will give lectures on, "Campus and Community Organizers."

"Additional information will be available at your request."

"For Black Liberation,

Bob Smith, National Deputy
Chairman"

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~IV. MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITY

[REDACTED]

A characterization of SSOC is included in the appendix section of this report.

B. Efforts of SNCC at Atlanta University Center

[REDACTED] has advised in the past that certain student disorders have existed at the Atlanta University Center which is composed of six colleges attended by Negro students. Some of the demands made by the dissident students included a relaxation of curfew as well as liberalizing the dressing habits of individuals espousing Negro history.

[REDACTED] advised that there appeared to be little if any inroads in the student body of the six Negro colleges on the part of the SNCC.

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C. Travel to Cuba by DONALD P. STONE and use of "Black Power" slogan by him

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On January 27, 1969, [REDACTED] furnished a verbatim transcript of an interview of DONALD P. STONE which had been conducted over Radio Havana on January 16, 1969. In this interview, STONE identified himself as Deputy Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee - Black Power in Charge of Liberation Schools. In explaining the addition of the words "Black Power" to the name of SNCC, STONE stated that SNCC was the first organization to use Black Power and in order to get the people to understand have a closer relationship to the revolutionary aspects of Black Power with the original name SNCC. STONE said this was done to get people to understand that "Black Power" is a revolutionary concept. It is not a reformist concept that is intending to integrate people through the main stream of imperialist America. But what we are about is a destruction and we are trying to redefine, to give a very strong definition in revolutionary terms to the words "Black Power."

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In commenting on the liberation schools, STONE stated that the purpose of these schools is to build a revolutionary consciousness among the black youth in America. STONE defined these schools as supplemental educational institutes where "we teach courses in Afro-American history, African history, political education, martial arts such as karate and judo and we also teach the art of self-defense in terms of weaponry.

Because of the above remarks from STONE, investigation was conducted to determine if in fact SNCC has added the words "Black Power" to the name of its organization for the purposes indicated by STONE. Inquiry was also made relative to the establishment of liberation schools by SNCC. The result of this investigation is set forth as follows:

On February 12, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that when liberation schools were originally formulated by SNCC, they were supposed to be set up throughout the country with a curriculum including African history and culture, as well as instruction in self-defense tactics and political education; however, this project has never gotten off the ground.

The source said that STONE attempted to get such a school started at Atlanta, Georgia, but received no response from the black community and prior to his departure for Cuba, he occasionally held such classes in the Atlanta YMCA, and the most it ever attracted was four or five kids. STONE limited his instruction to topics involving black history only, and the classes were not held on a regular basis.

The only other liberation school to materialize to any degree was that sponsored by the Student Organization

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for Black Unity at Long Island University (SOBU), which is not controlled or governed by SNCC in any way, however, they did, at inception, assist members of SOBU run it; however, in recent months it has declined. SNCC only offers assistance. The curriculum did include Black Heritage and some karate instructions but nothing else. The source concluded by stating that STONE reportedly made a recent speech over the Havana radio, and the entire text of it, with the exception of his name and position in SNCC, was false. SNCC has never carried the phrase "Black Power" as part of its original title, and from STONE's remarks it was apparent he was trying to build up the prestige of the organization, being fully cognizant of the fact its appeal to the black community was gone. STONE's remarks regarding SNCC and Black Power were completely erroneous and apparently stated by him in an attempt to impress the Cubans.

SOBU is a Black Nationalist organization
at Long Island University at Brooklyn, New York.
It has an approved charter from the University.

Concerning the above liberation school in Atlanta, [REDACTED] advised that in May, 1968, a group of Negro women, some with current association and some with former association in the SNCC, met at the residence of FLORA STONE, 2170 Penelope Avenue, N.W., Atlanta, for the purpose of forming a group to work in the vicinity of Vine City, a popular Negro community within the City of Atlanta. The purpose of this group would be to assist the underprivileged residing in that community. It was decided the organization would be named the "Harambee Sisters" and after meetings in June and July a program of the organization was prepared. According to the informant, the program included establishing a day nursery in the Vine City area which would be sponsored by the Harambee Sisters where the children would be exposed to African culture and history. These children were to be of pre-school age and would be kept for varying times during the day, particularly at times which would permit the mother

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of the children to be gainfully employed. The source said that much effort and time was spent at trying to organize this school, which actually could be considered a type of liberation school but that the matter never appeared to be accepted by this community which prevented the Harambee Sisters from becoming, or developing, a completely accepted organization.

[REDACTED] said that since the original inception of the Harambee Sisters, many projects were advanced by the members but none of them have really developed beyond the talking stage and currently the Harambee Sisters is holding monthly meetings and is not actively engaged in any type of community project.

On February 10, 1969, [REDACTED] stated that "Black Power" has not been incorporated in the name of SNCC. The source said, however, that about one year ago the letterhead stationery utilized by SNCC had been changed to include the words "Black Power" at the bottom of the letterhead. Prior to this time, the phrase "One Name One Vote" appeared in this location.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] advised on February 26, 1969, that she was unaware of any change in the name of SNCC. Further, she had never heard of the addition of "Black Power."

She also advised that she had never heard of nor has it come to her attention that any SNCC - Black Power liberation schools are being held on the West Coast and particularly in the San Francisco area. She also stated she had never heard of these liberation schools.

She stated that several months ago SNCC took a strong stand in favoring a policy of the revolutionary aspect

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of Black Power and because of the adoption of this policy, lost part of their national sponsorship. She did state that SNCC was attempting to attend conventions of other organizations where they attempt to have the organization change the word "Negro" to "Black."

On February 20, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that at the Atlanta conference of SNCC, which was held December 27, through December 29, 1968, JAMES RICHMOND and PHIL HITCHINGS stated that the SNCC Central Committee would consider several suggestions and subsequently adopt a new name which would thereafter be furnished to the individual SNCC chapters during the course of routine mail or telephone contacts or same might be held until the First National Political Conference, for the purpose of unity and to eliminate confusion. [REDACTED] said that the First National Political Conference is to be held in East St. Louis, Illinois, March 1 and 2, 1969, and that the new name would probably be made known at that time.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised, however, on February 13 and 20, 1969, that a SNCC liberation school was started by Cincinnati SNCC in 1963, at the Rockdale Temple, Cincinnati, Ohio, which is also the present location of the Cincinnati SNCC headquarters. This school was originally started by THOMAS JAMES RICHMOND, who is presently residing and employed in Baltimore, Maryland, and was thereafter supervised by the present Cincinnati SNCC advisor, [REDACTED]. This school

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originally met two nights a week from 7:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. and dealt with matters of black history, culture, tactics, and economics, and was generally attended by approximately twenty-five persons, no age limits or identification required and no attendance records maintained. The school increased in popularity and was expanded to four nights a week and also moved to the Samuel Aches Junior High School, Cincinnati, Ohio. The source said the school was thereafter returned to the Rockdale Temple where it is presently located and has continued to operate four sessions a week, two hours each session. [REDACTED] advised that no weaponry instructions are associated with the school and no classes are being conducted in judo or karate because of lack of facilities. The source advised that although SNCC has maintained a supervisor status relative to the school, it is encouraged by such organizations as the Avondale Committee Council, which is composed of Negro leaders and businessmen of the Avondale section of Cincinnati, Ohio, and the Black Youth and Parents Union, a Cincinnati group composed of Negro leaders and parents confronted with the education and activities of Negro children in the Cincinnati schools. The source added that the Black Youth and Parents Union became actively involved in the SNCC liberation schools to the degree that they obtained \$10,000 from the Unitarian Church to aid in the continuation of same. The source added that the same "liberation school" has been used by Cincinnati SNCC interchangeably with the name "Freedom School" [REDACTED] stated that the "liberation schools" were discontinued almost immediately.

[REDACTED] advised on February 13, 1969, that he has no information indicating that SNCC has added the words "Black Power" to the name of its organization. Source further advised there is no liberation school being operated in the Houston, Texas, area. The source said, however, that it has been reported for the past three or four months LARRY

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JACKSON has been "heading up" a liberation school in Austin, Texas, probably on 11th or 12th Street in Austin. It was reported that several female students at the University of Texas were participating in the school. It was source's understanding that most of these girls graduated and left Austin at the end of the past school semester. On March 5, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] advised that several months ago JACKSON proposed a liberation school for children from ages 3 to 16 years. The source added that the school never materialized and no other such schools are known to be operated by JACKSON.

[redacted] advised on February 27, 1969, that he could develop no information to indicate that SNCC has added the words "Black Power" to the name of its organization or that SNCC is operating any type of liberation school in the Houston area. [redacted] could furnish no positive information concerning either of these allegations.

[redacted] and [redacted] advised on February 5, 1969, and February 17, 1969, respectively, that a liberation school called the "Proud Black School" began operation in Jackson, Mississippi, in the fall of 1968, under the sponsorship of HOWARD HERSCHELL SPENCER, Jackson, Mississippi, SNCC activist. Classes are held on Saturdays at 1:30 p.m. at 3100 Popshontas Street, Jackson, Mississippi, in the Georgetown ghetto area of Jackson. The building in which the classes are held is a rundown building with no electricity or heating. Instructors at the school are HOWARD SPENCER, REGINA DRAKE, Negro female student, Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, RICHARD ADAMS, Negro male, student, Tougaloo College, GERALDINE SMITH, Negro female, age 29, a resident of the Georgetown ghetto area and DONALD WILSON JACKSON, Negro male, who is an independent Black Nationalist and a student at Tougaloo College.

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Students at the school number 20 to 35 each week and range in age from 10 to 14 years. The majority are boys. Subjects taught include Black Culture, African history, Negro U. S. history, Remedial Mathematic courses and some limited agricultural training. No extremist activity is being taught at the school yet. Instructors on occasion take the youths to Tougaloo College for a tour of the campus, library, and similar buildings. Meetings with parents of the children have been held periodically, however, attendance is minimal and parental support is almost entirely lacking at present.

[redacted] and [redacted] advised in February, 1969, that no information concerning the addition of the words "Black Power" to the name of SNCC nor the evidence of any liberation schools in the State of Louisiana has come to their attention.

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SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

On November 1, 1966, a first source advised that the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) was formed on the weekend of April 3-5, 1964, to stimulate activity of Southern student groups in areas of civil rights, peace, academic freedom, civil liberties, capital punishment, and unemployment. Originally, it was to be a white counterpart of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). It has agreed to work with similar interested groups such as SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF). SSOC is a fraternal affiliate of the SDS.

Beginning in the fall of 1966, SSOC became a membership organization and embarked on a campaign to form local chapters on various college campuses throughout the South. SSOC publishes, once a month through May each year, a publication, "New South Student," which according to the above source has increasingly espoused and defended the pro-Communist and anti-United States position on domestic and foreign policy.

On July 2, 1968, a second source advised that SSOC continues to be headquartered at 1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, and continues to defend and espouse the pro-Communist and anti-United States position with particular emphasis on attacking United States policy in Vietnam and emphasis on attacking the Selective Service System. Source also noted that SSOC Chairman Thomas N. Gardner in the Summer of 1967 traveled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he met with representatives of the National Liberation Front (NLF) and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), and that SSOC staff members Bruce Smith and Alan Levin traveled to Cuba in the Summer of 1967 and February, 1968, respectively.

By letter dated April 26, 1968, on SSOC letterhead mailed to the general SSOC membership over the signature of Mike Jelen, Executive Secretary of SSOC, it was announced that on a trip toward closer relations with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and better communications with the movement nationally, SSOC and SDS have worked out an exchange of the "New South Student" and the "New Left Notes," and that SDS and SSOC were exchanging contact lists of their respective memberships for this exchange.

APPENDIX

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SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

The May, 1968, issue of "New South Student" indicates that the SSOC mailing address is P. O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212, Telephone Number 615-291-3537, and the masthead describes the organization as "An association of young concerned Southerners dedicated to social change," as taken from the preamble of the SSOC constitution.

APPENDIX

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STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360 - 362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus -- the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

CONFIDENTIAL

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of the world, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 1300 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

March 10, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Atlanta report of SA [REDACTED]
dated and captioned as above

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| REPORTING OFFICE ATLANTA | OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA | DATE 8/1/69 | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 3/11 - 7/25/69 |
| TITLE OF CASE <u>CHANGED;</u> STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE | | REPORT MADE BY <div style="background-color: black; width: 100px; height: 1.2em; margin: 2px;"></div> | TYPED BY :sat |
| | | CHARACTER OF CASE RM - SNCC | |

Title marked "Changed" to reflect name of organization as Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) based on information furnished by H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC, at a news conference held 7/22/69, at SNCC Office, New York City. The organization was previously known as Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

REFERENCES: Report of SA 3/10/69, at Atlanta; and New York airtel and LHM, 7/24/69. 100-439190-2081

- P -

ATLANTA DIVISION

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Continue to follow activities of organization through sources

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|------|-------|---------|------------|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED None | | | | | | ACQUIT-TALS | CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO |
| CONVIC. | AUTO. | FUG. | FINES | SAVINGS | RECOVERIES | | |

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| APPROVED <div style="display: inline-block; width: 100px; height: 1.2em; background-color: black;"></div> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE COPIES MADE: 11 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM) 1 - OSI, District Six, RAFB, Warner Robins, Ga. (RM) 1 - 111th MIG, Region I, Ft. McPherson, Ga. (RM) 1 - NIS, Charleston, S.C. (RM) 2 - New York (100-147963) (RM) 3 - Atlanta (100-6488) <div style="text-align: right;">cc - 306</div> | DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW <div style="font-size: 1.5em; font-family: cursive;">100-439190-2081</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> REC 9 12 AUG 4 1969 </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block; margin-top: 10px;"> EX-103 </div> |
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| Dissemination Record of Attached Report | | Notations CIA (Via Liaison) ATFD (Via Liaison) STATE RACIAL INT. SECT. |
| Agency | AGENCY: ACSI, OSI , OSI, SEC. SERV., | |
| Request Recd. | DATE: ISD, CRD, RAO 7/24/69 | |
| How Forw. | DATE FORW. 8/1/69 | |

53 AUG 12 1969

AT 100-6488

and submit quarterly report.

INFORMANTS:

| <u>Identity of Source</u> | <u>Date of Activity</u> | <u>Location of Information</u> |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] | 100-6488-8066 |
| [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] | 100-6488-8092 |
| [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] | 100-6488-8079 |
| [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] | 100-6488-8111 |
| | | 8126 |
| | | 8367 |
| | | 8373 |
| [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] | 100-6488-8120 |
| [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] | 100-6488-8142 |
| | | 8219 |
| | | 8221 |
| [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] | 100-6488-8284 |
| | | -8322 |
| | | -8370 |
| [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] | 100-6488-8338 |

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified confidential as information contained therein is attributed to sources continuously active in and closely associated with the civil rights movements in Atlanta and New York. Should the identities of these sources become known, it could seriously affect their future usefulness in furnishing intelligence information regarding this movement.

[REDACTED]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - Naval Investigative Service, Charleston, South Carolina (RM)
1 - Office of Special Investigations, District Six, Robins Air Force Base, Warner Robins, Georgia (RM)
1 - 111th Military Intelligence Group, Region I, Ft. McPherson, Georgia (RM)

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: August 1, 1969

Office: Atlanta, Georgia

Field Office File #: 100-6488

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Synopsis: H. RAP BROWN held a press conference 7/22/69, and identified self as having been elected Chairman of the organization which is now known as the Student National Coordinating Committee. New structure of organization consists of creation of Revolutionary Political Council, a propaganda network and building of an all black party. BRING DAVIS replaces JAMES FORMAN as Director of International Affairs Commission. New programs outlined. SNCC associates read portion of "Black Manifesto" to congregation of First Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, on 5/18/69. [REDACTED] SNCC, Atlanta, under name of Afro-American Society of Greater Atlanta, sponsors H. RAP BROWN Education and Recreation Center, a day school for children. National headquarters reportedly moved to New York, but H. RAP BROWN recommends return to Atlanta. No positive action taken re this suggestion.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~

Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and Declassification

AT 100-6488

DETAILS:

I. ADDRESS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on June 3, 1969, that as of June 7, 1969, the national office of SNCC in New York City would officially move from 100 Fifth Avenue, Room 807, to 360 West 28th Street, New York City, telephone number 242-9669. The source added that the Universalist Church is located at this address and the above telephone number is listed in the name of the church. The church is affording SNCC space at this location and the New York City Office of SNCC now functions as the national headquarters of the organization.

On April 14, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that approximately two or three weeks ago the national headquarters for SNCC had been moved from 360 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, to 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City, Room 803.

[REDACTED]

II. FINANCIAL CONDITION 1/A.

[REDACTED]

III. SNCC CONNECTION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A. Students For A Democratic Society (SDS)

A characterization of SDS appears in the appendix of this report.

[REDACTED]

B. Black Liberators

On March 6, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that on March 1-2 1969, approximately 30 to 40 individuals attended meetings held at St. Louis, Missouri, sponsored by a group known as the Black Liberators, an all-Negro militant organization, located primarily in the St. Louis area. The source said that the Black Liberators have affiliated itself with SNCC and CHARLES KOEN, who has been a leader of the Black Liberators, is also Deputy Director of SNCC in the midwest. The source said that on the same dates, other meetings of black nationalist organizations at East St. Louis, Illinois, were being held in East St. Louis, Illinois.

1/A.

According to [REDACTED], most of the individuals attending the meeting on the evening of February 28, 1969, went to an Afro-Arts Festival, which was being held at Washington University in St. Louis.

[REDACTED] said that the meetings on March 1, 1969, began at approximately 12:30 p.m. and SAM PETTY of the Black Liberators, was in charge. It was indicated that PETTY would be the new Prime Minister of the Black Liberators inasmuch as CHARLES KOEN had to give up the position as he was employed full-time travelling throughout the midwest in his position as a Deputy Director for SNCC. The meeting on March 1, 1969, was opened with the definition of Revolutionary Economics, given by PETTY as a term used in the obtaining of funds through revolutionary means and ways. PETTY indicated that in the last twelve months the Black Liberators were the only black militant organization in the midwest, who were engaged in the obtaining of finances through revolutionary action. He specified that these finances were obtained through robbery and burglary of small business establishments. He indicated that all material obtained in these criminal acts, that was not actually money, had been sold to fences and cash obtained.

[REDACTED] said that the meeting on March 2, 1969, began at 9 a.m. with CHARLES KOEN remarking that this was the last day of the meetings. KOEN indicated that he might travel to Cuba this summer in order to talk to Cuban officials about the black peoples' movement in the midwestern part of the United States and also to determine if the Cuban officials would accept any dedicated black persons that might travel to Cuba. KOEN claimed that most of the persons responsible for hijacking aircraft to Cuba were "brother facing long prison sentences. KOEN claimed that CASTRO collects \$25,000 in United States currency for every hijacked airplane that Cuba returns to the United States. He did not indicate who paid this money, but he wants to talk to Cuban officials to determine if some kind of agreement could be reached with them that the Black Liberators would receive compensation from Cuban officials for every aircraft that was hijacked by a "brother" recommended by KOEN.

Additional suggestions to obtain finances included such things as stealing payroll checks and money orders and cash these items, using false identification. It was also suggested that in the event any of the "brothers" needed specific material with which to use, such as firearms and clothing, etc., that stores dealing in this type of equipment should be selected for possible burglary. As a result of these meetings, it was decided by those

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attending that plans would be started in an attempt to raise money:

- 1) Offer protection to small business firms;
- 2) contacting "brothers" at rental car agencies to determine how easy it would be to steal automobiles;
- 3) stealing of money orders and payroll checks; and
- 4) selection of business firms for burglary that had material which could be used.

[REDACTED] advised on July 8, 1969, that he had received information alleging that the alliance between a Negro militant group in St. Louis, Missouri, known as the Black Liberators, and SNCC has been dissolved. The source added that KOEN no longer holds the position Prime Minister of the Black Liberators and has been relieved of his position as midwest director of SNCC and has been expelled from SNCC. [REDACTED] added that apparently the ideology expressed by the Black Liberators and KOEN were in direct conflict with the ideology, policy and programs of SNCC.

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IV. NEW PROGRAMS OF STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

 furnished the following
information:

Date 7/22/69

[REDACTED] furnished the following information on July 22, 1969:

H. RAP BROWN, newly-elected chairman of the Student National Coordinating Committee (formerly known as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) (SNCC), held a press conference at the SNCC Office, 300 9th Avenue, near 28th Street, New York City, at 11:00 AM on July 22, 1969. At the conference SNCC issued a press release which set forth the points covered by H. RAP BROWN in his remarks to the press, which were as follows:

"Results of the SNCC annual Staff meeting, held in New York City this year found H. Rap Brown once again being elected Chairman of our organization. The staff meeting was held at the Washington Square Episcopal Church, 36 W. 4th Street, between June 16--19, 1969.

"Our organization has changed its name to the Student National Coordinating Committee, still retaining the initials S.N.C.C. but denouncing any relationship to the concept of nonviolence as a solution to the problems of oppressed people.

"There has also been a change-over in the administration of SNCC. The new structure consists of:

"(A) The creation of a Revolutionary Political Council which replaces the old SNCC Central Committee as governing body,

"(B) A Propaganda Network, under the direction of Phil Hutchings, former head of SNCC,

"(C) The building of an all-Black Political Party.

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On 7/22/69 at New York City, New York File # NY 100-147963

[REDACTED] bs

by _____ Date dictated 7/24/69

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

"Other noted changes are the selection of Irving Davis as the director of SNCC's International Affairs Commission. He replaces James Forman in that position, who because of extensive duties with the "Black Manifesto", can no longer serve in that capacity. Forman still remains a SNCC staff member, however.

"Jimmy Johnson, formerly of the "Ft. Hood 3", was named to head up SNCC's draft program. Johnson is presently in Vietnam, representing our organization for the release of American POW's, an arrangement made recently by Dave Dellinger of National Mobilization Committee.

"New Programs"

"Some of the new programs we hope to advance forward in the coming months, will be a People's Medical Center, with absolutely free medical care for Black People and a People's Sewing Center to build on the concept of Black People Controlling their own productive forces, as well as freeing the potential productive forces of Welfare Mothers. These first two programs will be launched in Brooklyn, as models for the other Black Communities to follow. Another program of prime importance is an Agrarian Reform Plan to deal with the plight of Black Tenant Farmers in the South. The International Affairs apparatus will direct its attention to violations of the U.N. Charter on Human Rights, working with Black law Students. Finally, SNCC is determined that "Ahmed Evans - must not die". We plan to launch a massive campaign toward that effect, with hopes of obtaining enough support to save that Brother's life. We call upon all people of good will to join with us in the struggle to free Ahmed Evans."

Concerning Ahmed Evans, New York Daily News, July 23, 1969, Page 75, described him as "Black Nationalist convicted in the ambush slaying of a Cleveland Policeman".

In a question-and-answer period following the above remarks, H. Rap Brown said that the use of force is necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals.

"We do not accept unconditional non-violence as a tactic. All tactics must be considered and all violent tactics must be considered because we're living in a world of violence." In response to a question concerning President NIXON's recent press comment concerning violence in the streets, RAP BROWN stated, "Tell NIXON we are going to put violence in his home, not only in the streets. He should be concerned about violence in his home. White people have always been violent. Black people have been violent towards each other. We are talking about re-directing our violence."

[REDACTED] advised on July 23, 1969, that H. RAP BROWN and WILLIAM HUNT presided at the above mentioned press conference. WILLIAM HUNT represented the Brooklyn Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and said that the SNCC has a number of medical doctors lined up to treat medical cases without charge, in the Bedford-Stuyvesant and Brownsville Sections of Brooklyn, New York. [REDACTED] advised that although RAP BROWN remarked that he was "elected" Chairman of SNCC, his leadership was actually acquired by "African Concensors", that is, take over. In explanation, [REDACTED] said that several weeks ago SNCC discussed changing its name to the Black Revolutionary Action Party, and RAP was considered Chairman of that.

Since it was basically SNCC with no programs or plans, the name was scrapped two days later.

V. OPERATION OF DAY SCHOOL IN ATLANTA.

On July 16, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that a H. RAP BROWN Education and Recreation Center had been established by the SNCC Office at Atlanta and was located at 849 Beckwith Street, Atlanta, Georgia, telephone Number 753-0551.

According to [REDACTED], this organization was sponsored by the Afro-American Society of Greater Atlanta, which society, according to [REDACTED], reportedly received a \$14,000 grant from the Episcopal Church in New York City to set this school up.

[REDACTED] advised on July 28, 1969, that this school continues an operation at 849 Beckwith Street and was "the brain child" of BOB SMITH and CHARLES JENKINS, known SNCC associates in Atlanta. They are assisted in this operation by students that attend Morehouse College which is located in the close proximity of 849 Beckwith Street, Atlanta.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

VI. PARTICIPATION IN STUDENT UNREST.

On April 17, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that at 4:25 p.m., a large group of students numbering about 200, were gathered outside the Administration Building of the Atlanta University Center on Chestnut Street, just off Fair Street, Atlanta.

[REDACTED], advised on April 17, 1969, that trustees of the various institutions comprising the Atlanta University Center were in a meeting this week. [REDACTED] stated that trustees of Morehouse College were meeting on April 17, 1969, in the Administration Building of the Atlanta University Center.

[REDACTED] stated that about the time the trustees were ready to adjourn their meeting for the day, a group of students, numbering between 15 and 20, approached the trustees and made their departure from the building while making demands that white members of the board of trustees be requested to resign and that they be replaced by black members.

[REDACTED] advised that this action occurred between students at approximately 4:00 p.m., April 18, 1969, and that the trustees and students agreed to meet at 9:00 a.m. on April 28, 1969, at the Administration Building of the Atlanta University.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

VII. PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL BLACK ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES.

[REDACTED] First
Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, Georgia, advised that on
May 18, 1969, three Negroes entered the sanctuary
[REDACTED]
These individuals were afforded an opportunity to speak
to the congregation and one of the individuals, later
identified as MELVIN HINTON KING, read from a "Black
Manifesto". [REDACTED] said that they identified
themselves as associates of the National Black Economic
Development Conference and the purpose of reading the
"Black Manifesto" to the congregation was based on a paper
prepared by JAMES FORMAN and presented by him at the
National Black Economic Development Conference which had
been held in Detroit, Michigan.

A purpose of the "Black Manifesto" is to secure
\$500 million reparations from the white Christian churches
and synagogues in the United States. This money is to
be used by the Negroes as a sort of debt repayment the
white man owes the Negroes.

[REDACTED] advised that the three individuals
involved in the above incident were CHARLES E. JENKINS;
ROBERT LEE SMITH, and MELVIN KING, all known SNCC
associates in the Atlanta area.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED] advised that on May 25, 1969,
these three individuals reappeared at the church office

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at about 6:00 p.m. to determine what the church intended to do about the demands placed on it on the preceding Sunday. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that CHARLES JENKINS, MELVIN KING, and ROBERT SMITH were the ones who reappeared at the church on May 25, 1969.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

IX. MISCELLANEOUS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

X. STAFF MEETING AT ATLANTA AND NEW YORK

On June 3, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that the annual June staff meeting, which features among other things the election of officers, will be held in New York from June 15, through 19, 1969. Arrangements were being made by the National Office to accommodate from 60 to 80 people, and each chapter of SNCC was being requested to submit a list of those people who planned to attend from each area.

On June 23, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that the national staff meeting of SNCC was held at the Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 West Fourth Street, New York City, New York, between June 16 and June 17, 1969. The meeting


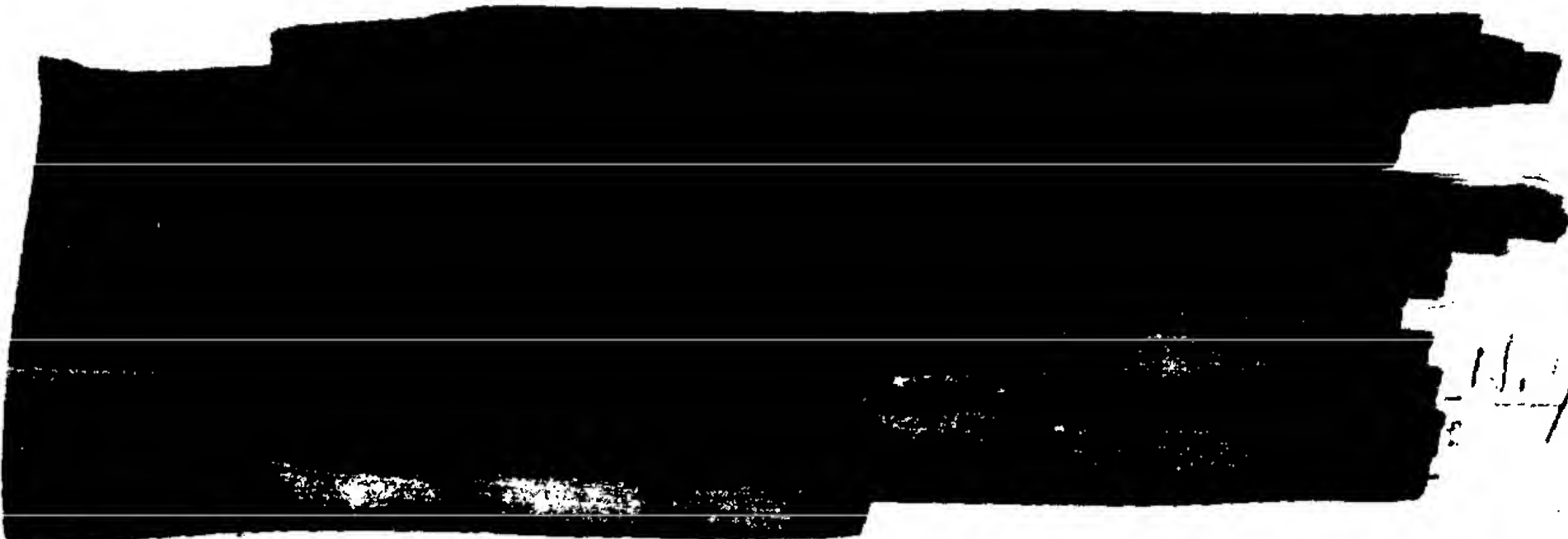
was chaired by H. RAP BROWN, former National Director of SNCC. BROWN advised those in attendance that he considered the present national staff lacking in efficiency, citing one example that he visited the SNCC Headquarters in New York while a majority of the personnel were absent. He said he viewed money, checks, and other vital correspondence unopened and lying carelessly around the office area. [REDACTED] said that a considerable portion of the meeting was taken up with general conversation about the present situation in the Southern area of the United States and past SNCC activities in the New York area.

Source said that the session held on June 17, 1969 was opened by PHIL HUTCHINGS, who indicated that the purpose was to elect a new chairman and staff for the organization. HUTCHINGS said that he would not run for chairman for a second term.

Later, during this particular meeting, H. RAP BROWN interrupted with a statement that it was obvious that the present SNCC leadership has done nothing during the past year and that he and eight members present at the meeting saw fit to declare a standing takeover to put an end to the present agenda as it was insufficient in regard to the relativity of black people in America. He declared the meeting to be under a dictatorial chairmanship with all powers of recommendation delegated to himself.

Later, BROWN advised that there would be a training course of a six weeks period held at the Atlanta Headquarters which would consist of 15 to 20 students who would be instructed by such individuals as CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a Negro Communist Party member from Chicago; and the Hoodlum Priest, Father Clement; and three or four other individuals, names unrecalled. Part of the training would be to develop a cadre of political organizers to be used by the organization. BROWN explained that individuals trained in this course would infiltrate present organizations working with black people such as Government funded organizations and civil action groups, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. These people would then turn these organizations to the aims and

purposes of SNCC. BROWN directed that all securities and present funds, foreign and national contacts, United Nations contact, and all other SNCC material or organizational items be turned over to him. He said that the files of the SNCC Office should be shipped immediately to the Atlanta Headquarters and Brother CHE (WILLIAM PAYNE) would be in charge of setting up the new office in Atlanta.



JAMES FORMAN appeared at the conference at approximately 6:00 P. M., June 16, 1969, and for four hours rambled on about his "Black Manifesto" and potential of the National Black Economic Development Conference held in Detroit in April, 1969. He concluded his remarks by calling for the demise of SNCC and everything else, and rallying behind the ideals of the "Black Manifesto". Some receptiveness to his proposal was voiced but again internal conflict precluded anything from being finalized. Source concluded by stating that the staff meeting accomplished nothing but personality conflicts and arguments among those present and absolutely nothing was accomplished or resolved and it became so chaotic

during the June 17, 1969 session that RAP BROWN walked out saying he was disassociating himself with the organization because they lacked the ability to accomplish anything or relate to anybody. The source said that the only item of business that was decided was to adjourn this meeting for one month and reconvene in Atlanta sometime in July, 1969, the exact date to be established in the near future.

[REDACTED] said that no representative from the Atlanta, Georgia Office of SNCC was present at this meeting due to the fact they were not given notification of it by the New York City Office.

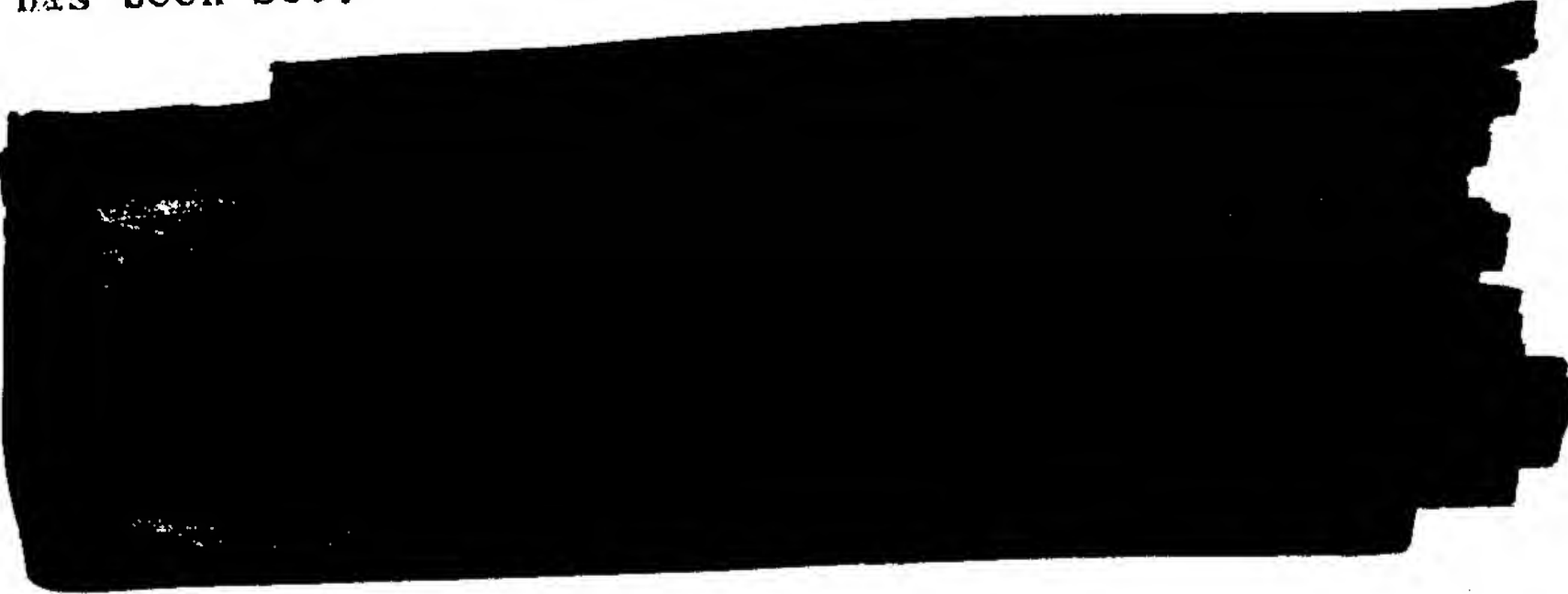
On June 25, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that the financial backing for the recent National Staff Meeting of SNCC held in New York City, June 16-17, 1969, the Washington Square Episcopal Church, 133 West Fourth Street, New York City, was donated to SNCC by the officials of this church. According to [REDACTED]

On July 2, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that the staff meeting of SNCC is scheduled to commence at Atlanta, Georgia on July 17, 1969. The meeting will be held at the former National SNCC Headquarters, 360 Nelson Street, S. W., and could last as long as four or five days and will be attended by possibly as many as 40 people. The source stated that the purpose of this meeting, which was a continuation of the one held in New York, would be to determine whether SNCC was to recognize or disband, and a new organization could take its place.

On July 16, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that the meeting scheduled for July 17, 1969, at Atlanta, Georgia was not held as "CHE" ROBINSON, who was given the responsibility of organizing and setting up the meeting in Atlanta, as well

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as setting up the meeting in Atlanta, and notifying all of the persons who would attend, did not carry through with his assignment of organizing and coordinating this meeting. No information as to a possible future date of another meeting has been set.



STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

A source has advised that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. From an initial ideological posture of "participatory democracy," the current line of the national leadership reveals an adherence to Marxism-Leninism. Michael Klonsky, National Secretary, in March, 1969, called for the building of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement. The program of SDS has moved from involvement in civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam war position and finally to its present advocacy of an anti-imperialist line, linking up the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the black liberation movement in the United States. China, Vietnam and Cuba are regarded as countries which are leading the world-wide struggles against United States imperialism. On the other hand, SDS regards the Soviet Union as an imperialist power and does not support the policies of that country.

SDS maintains a National Office in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. Its official paper "New Left Notes" reflects the line of the national leadership and program adopted at meetings of the National Council and National Interim Committee (NIC). Three national officers and a NIC of eleven members are elected each year during a June National Convention.

SDS Regional Offices and university and college chapters elect delegates to National Council meetings wherein program and ideology are debated; but each Region and chapter is autonomous in nature and is free to carry out independent policy and programs reflective of local conditions.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

11-24-611
In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Atlanta, Georgia

August 1, 1969

Title STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Reference Report of SA [REDACTED], at
Atlanta, dated August 1, 1969,
and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.